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The Christian Socialist

VOL. III. No. 8. DANVILLE, ILLINOIS, APRIL 15, 1906. Whole No. 47

LINCOLN, THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE*

BY EDWIN MARKHAM

When the Norn-Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour,
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,
She bent the strenuous Heavens and came down
To make a man to meet the mortal need.
She took the tried clay of the common road—
Clay warm yet with the genial heat of Earth,
Dashed through it all a strain of prophecy;
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff.
It was a stuff to wear for centuries,
A man that matched the mountains, and compelled
The stars to look our way and honor us.

The color of the ground was in him, the red earth;
The tang and odor of the primal things—
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;
The loving-kindness of the wayside well;
The tolerance and equity of light
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky.

And so he came.

From prairie cabin up to Capitol,
One fair Ideal led our chieftain on.
Forevermore he burned to do his deed
With the fine stroke and gesture of a king.
He built the rail-pile as he built the State,
Pouring his splendid strength through every blow,
The conscience of him testing every stroke,
To make his deed the measure of a man.

So came the Captain with the mighty heart:
And when the step of Earthquake shook the house,
Wrenching the rafters from their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up, and spiked again
The rafters of the Home. He held his place—
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and altered not at praise.
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a kingly cedar green with boughs
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

*From "Lincoln and Other Poems", published by McCLURE, PHILLIPS & Co., New York. $1.00.

THE SHAME OF THE CHURCH.

By Rev. E. A. Wasson, Ph. D., Pastor Protestant Episcopal Church, Newark, N. J.

The church in this country is in actual disaster and greater peril; for money, which is dominant in politics and business, is dominant in the church. It is the same money that controls all three spheres, the same money that controls the six working days and the one rest day. Since great reputations in the business world began to crumble two years ago, I have taken pains to find the religious affiliations, if any, of these great ones; and in every case, so far as I have been able to learn, these men are either members or active supporters of churches. One is a Unitarian, and is now building a church of that sect in Massachusetts. But what could you expect of a Unitarian? Isn't theological unsoundness sure to beget moral laxity, as we have been often assured? Ah, but another is a Catholic, who a year or two ago built a $200,000 church in Pennsylvania. And another is a stanch Episcopalian; and another is a straight-laced Methodist, at present dodging the process-servers. And the Baptists have their share; and the Jews. If you wish to find any of the biggest crooks in the country, of a Sunday morning, the surest place to go is the church. Nor does the devil seem to have any preference for one theological livery over another; they all seem to be equally becoming and comfortable to him. Probably he regards them as all equally false and equally useful.

Dishonest wealth is even more powerful in church than in politics or business. The standing of these men in both these spheres is being questioned; **not so their church standing.** They hear nothing in church to offend them. The sermon treats of the evil-doing of Ahab and Jezebel, who, being dead, have no friends; and anyway they don't contribute to the pastor's salary. After service, if in the mood, they take the man of God home to dinner. They are powerful in the church for the same reason that the changers of money were powerful in the Temple—the Temple got a share in the profits. They ought to be put into the penitentiary, and out of the church.

These men are in the church and powerful, because, first, they need it in their business. While the church can't help them, it might be a dangerous enemy; so they have purchased the pulpit's friendly silence. Second, these people have consciences, souls, some idea of the future life, like the rest of us, and they wish satisfaction for these,—that is, they wish salvation. Now when they have wished anything else, they have simply bought it; so they buy salvation, they buy God. And, third, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to stay out of church. WE WON'T LET HIM. From morning to night, from home to office and from office to home, he has to run a gauntlet of petitions and petitioners from the churches. No wonder that he comes to look on churches as holy mendicants, would-be pensioners, gratuity-hunters, glad of the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. The churches are Mammon's poor relations. And with what fulsome and obsequious gratitude his gifts are hailed and his name exploited, in a way that oftener disgusts than pleases him. THERE IS MORE JOY IN A CONGREGATION OVER ONE RICH MAN WHO COMES TO HIRE AN EXPENSIVE PEW THAN OVER NINETY AND NINE POOR PERSONS WHO CAN'T AFFORD A PEW.

Thus there is a tacit contract between Mammon and church; by which he furnishes the church with money, and the church furnishes him Indulgences (not in the theological, but in the sense popular before the Reformation), by which his wrong-doing doesn't bother him. There may be ructions, investigations, lawsuits, hard words outside: but the moneyed crook can always find peace and joy and sympathy and friends in the church. It's worth paying for.

Yet this cannot last. It is a scandal, making the church a joke, a derision, a hatred. This business of importuning impostors and rogues for the means of making Christians has got to stop. Thereby we convert a dozen African savages to the church and divert a hundred of our friends and neighbors from it.

The revival that is needed has to do with this one definite, concrete, immediate issue, on which for the time all else depends. It is the one issue, for the reason that it is the one issue and evil we are afraid of. It is an impertinence for us ministers and people to go out to convert people, since we need to be converted ourselves. We preachers are afraid to face this evil of Mammon worship. We fear for our positions, our wives and children, our prospects; and then there are so many other ways of doing good it is easy to salve our consciences. We are ambassadors of Christ, but ambassadors in bonds; though unlike the apostle the bonds are self-chosen and gladly worn.

But if a preacher did grapple with this monster of Mammon worship, his own congregation would be first to turn on him, as soon as the golden stream began to run thin; for it would mean they would have to put up more money or be content with less comfort in their worship. For the one unpardonable sin in a minister is financial failure. All other faults will be forgiven him, worldliness, indolence, pride; but, that one sin will not be forgiven him. The minister today is first of all a fiscal agent. "How are you getting along, brother?" "Fine; I've just put in a $2,500 stained glass window." "Is this a strong church?" "Sure, it's got an income of $50,000 a year."

Now frenzied, red-hot appeals to other people to wash in the blood of Jesus, to stand up and be counted, to show their colors, to sign the card, to declare themselves on the Lord's side, to be saved, to unite themselves with God's people, in face of the present definite disaster and peril, are no more than a pious fuss, a holy noise, sanctified wind. The real question for us ministers and you pew people is this: "Are you willing to lose and be poor, to make others truly rich, as Jesus, your alleged Master, did?" Who said to his disciples as he sent them forth to preach the gospel, "Provide no money in your purse, nor bread, nor a change of clothes;" who exemplified what he said, for as he went about doing good often Jesus had nowhere to lay his head; who said "Man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth;" who said, "Be not anxious for your life what you shall eat or what you shall drink, nor yet for your body what you shall put on. Is not the life more than the food and the body than the raiment? But seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness."

The Relation of Christian Ethics to Economics

By REV. JOHN EILLS

PART III.

With regard to the process of renewal and the responsibility therefor, thought must now be taken: In these days when many would fain make Evolution the scapegoat for their sins, it is not infrequently taught that the forces operative in economic movements are extra-moral or automatic, an opinion often expressed in the words "Economic forces are irresistible; it is no use trying to overcome economic forces." To this fatalistic philosophy there are at least three wise forms of reply:

The first is that if truly economic forces are meant (forces that economize the strength and happiness of the whole people, and result in comprehensive social weal) then none but a comparatively few selfish monopolists want to antagonize them, any more than men ordinarily want to antagonize truly healthful forces of body and mind, like sunshine and fresh air. This form of reply disposes of the tory fling at the true reformer.

The second form is directed at the usual assumption that those forces which in industrial life now result in so great disproportion between labor and reward are economic, and therefore must have their way. To this it can be truly replied that just as man can successfully resist smallpox and yellow fever, so can he resist, expose and effectually dispose of these forces falsely called economic, by showing clearly that they are forces uneconomic, wasteful, inequitable, reckless of social health, wealth and happiness. There is not the smallest reasonable doubt that these so-called economic forces can be overcome and redirected in so far as they clash with ethics or the sense of right. If men have faith as a grain of mustard seed they can remove this mountain. The question is one of intelligence and morality quite as much as of anything else. Every man who in his learning has learned the unity of all knowledge is aware of this; and every highminded man, however unschooled, knows himself ultimately supreme over the dollar. Political economists, also who are not mere jugglers with a special terminology know that "the economic question ultimately resolves itself into one of ethics," as asserted by Mr. Henry Dyer in his "Evolution of Industry."

And a third form of reply is this that all industrial forces may be harnessed and driven by society as a whole.

The conclusions of all reputable economists are now beginning to be guided by ethics. **To lie down before the doctrine that man is powerless over business is intellectual and moral prostitution.** One simply cannot limit the power of moral forces. It is only a question of putting them into operation. For all any one knows some humble miner or shoemaker may become an ethical force that will change the whole system of economics in the United States, supplanting "politics" itself by Economics. But if one is inadequate, then multitudes will prevail. Stating a general principle Mr. Palgrave says in his Dictionary of Political Economy: "If it were a settled conviction that social evolution were in the direction of iniquity; that distribution already overcomes the workers and will rob them more hereafter, no force could prevent a violent overturning of the social order." This man knows the majesty of manhood.

The majesty of manhood will not allow society to drift along forever under the impetus of "blind forces" any more than it will allow an individual to do so. It says, "Come let us reason together": The natural law of procreation is not allowed generally to act blindly, but is ethically directed. This, with the possible exception of hunger, is the strongest instance of natural or automatic force in the world. If this can be rationally and morally directed why not economic forces also?

For instance, no one would be so fatuous as to accept and follow out logically the doctrine that mere cheapness of commodity or of labor is ideal. The alternative, however, is: Limit cheapness to some extent. And this is done. But to limit cheapness to any extent shows man's power against it; and if cheapness can be limited as now to bare "efficiency"—to four walls and a roof, a shoddy suit and baked beans—it can be limited to justice and comfort also; rationally and morally limited for the welfare of a nation, of a world. It is a question of wise teaching, true learning and faithful doing. Society is not necessarily the victim of an automatic and blind evolution. An ever enlarging number of men and women are consciously and deliberately doing the evolving, consciously and resolutely shaping development toward an Ideal, seen at first afar off and by solitary individuals, not business men principally nor economists solely, but men of heart, of unselfishness, of love, by world-helpers and saviours in every class. Every man may hasten this evolution or may retard it. To hasten it should be the especial glory of the enlightened man.

A very brief analysis suffices to show to what extent an economic force or law may be physical and necessary and to what extent it is mental and moral. At the utmost such a law is physical and characterized by necessity only to the point of starvation or destitution—only to that point at which it demands for men, women and children sufficient food, clothing and shelter. One might, indeed, maintain that "economic force" is not supreme even within this limit, pointing out that the moral power in many cases reigns even here. Some people are really willing to starve and die, and have starved and died, and do starve and die, and will starve and die, rather than sell their integrity for a mess of pottage. In effect they say as did the imprisoned Huguenot potter to the French king on being told by the king that his ministers would compel him to put the prisoner to death unless he should renounce his faith: "Sire, that is not to speak like a king; they may compel you, they cannot compel me, I can die."

But apart from this extreme, food and shelter once secured, physical pressure no longer dominates. Thence forward at least, the realm of economics is a realm of moral freedom, and the ethical power may occupy the throne of human life. Therefore there is need of intelligent, ethical teaching as well as of faithful practice, in the schools and the daily walks. Prolonged famine, physical catastrophe can be eminently trusted to teach all the fatalism that is good in economics. Let minds and consciences teach human power and nobility and brotherhood.

And the fact is well known that nature is not severe with us. **Our problem is not how to produce enough to provide for all, but to distribute equitably what is produced and thus give to every producer his due measure of reward, of leisure and of joy in producing.** Nature, not niggardly but lavish, yields abundance for all with few hours of toil. The human race produces probably more than it can beneficially consume. Witness the colossal waste in wars, in fashionable display and in an enervating degree of luxury. Ethical economics would convince men how much better it would be to reduce the hours of daily labor, improve its conditions and increase its rewards, living in comfort and in peace, not spending their money for "that which is not bread and their labor for that which satisfieth not."

There is, moreover, abundant evidence that these falsely called economic but really wasteful forces of the present industrial scheme can be controlled and rationally directed to comprehensive human welfare. It was done in England in the case of child labor, against the capitalistic claim that profit could not be made if adult labor were employed. The superior force here was the ethical sentiment of the people, which culminated in The Factory Acts of 1832. The same end has been accomplished in the case of negro slavery, which was held to be economic. Even so great a contemporaneous opponent of that system as was Professor Cairnes of Edinburgh, thought it would be killed only by a slow economic process of encroachment upon its domains by free white labor. The impetus even of that process was ethical; but negro slavery was finally overcome by ethical plus military forces in a short space of time. And wage-slavery also is actually being overcome today by the economic, ethical and political solidarity of the industrials the world over.

It is of course conceivable that the three pillars of Christian Ethics, the Commandments of Love and Perfection and the Golden Rule, may ultimately fall, that the judgment of mankind may yet reject them. But the great probability is that they will stand. And if they stand they will not buttress an industrial structure whose chief corner stone is Shrewdness. It is not written "Blessed are the shrewd, for they shall inherit the earth." The earthly provinces of the "'Kingdom' of Heaven" are not to be entered by holding to the skirts of Shylock. "Hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom," until all are rich. Christian ethics will not justify the late Mr. Gould's tricks and deceits of financiering. It will not justify Founder Rothchild's false reports to England of the battle of Waterloo. It will not justify the House of Astor in sucking through ground-rents the life-blood of a city's producers. The titles will hold at law a while longer, but when the common people are assured that it is chiefly the aggregation of population that has made the land so valuable, then they will take it into the public domain and make the House of Astor pay into the public treasury honest rent for what it retains. Christian ethics will in the end place the premium not upon mere intellect, but upon harmonized intellect, heart and conscience, not upon Shrewdness, but upon Salvation. It will persuade men that the gift of a superior intellect is but to balance up the gift elsewhere of a great heart to the world, like the "sacred heart" of Christ. It will set the shirkers, rich or poor, to work, and establish at last a condition of justice, of equity, of brotherhood, of co-operation, of mutual service and helpfulness and love upon the earth—a state of industry and life in which Ethics shall be wedded to Economics and Brotherhood wedded to Business.

To such a program the hearts of the lowly are committed. Bishop Lightfoot in his essays on "Primitive Christianity" writes: "It was a constant taunt of the early antagonists of Christianity that the new religion did not recruit its ranks from the most exalted, or the most intellectual, or the most respectable classes of society. The

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The Gospel of Corporate Man

By Peter E. Burrowes.

V. Class—Consciousness—God Consciousness.

66. The growth of a separate class-consciousness was very manifest among the people during the election of 1904 in the United States, and the psychological change necessary to produce socialism will be brought about by events and by their pressure while the socialists are simply pointing at the process and its goal. Yet in the act of so demonstrating what will do the thing wanted, they are powerfully contributing to the effect which they are foretelling. Our work is, therefore, a simple demonstration of the need for labor organization.

67. In the wise inculcation of class-consciousness today, Christ himself could be engaged, and could in that engagement be surely at his best.

68. Nothing can be wiser or truer in a land of slaves, than to teach the slaves what slavery is, to make them feel their chains and spurn them.

69. Woe to the man that cries out "Ye are free, free," to those who are not free.

70. The practical concern of the moral world, the whole business of philosophy, of religion and of God, is today to be found in the socialist movement.

71. The goal of human wisdom is to attain to the consciousness by prayer, training, and service, of being in and of the aggregate man. This is the true subjective and spiritual life.

72. They who go through their moral and spiritual lives as spectators, or as in any way separated from the whole life of their time, even though the feeling of separation be of a benevolent kind and exercised benevolently, are yet out of the true life.

73. Every agency of capitalism from the pope to the newspaper paragraphist, strenuously seeks to turn the attention of the thinker to the individual life as the excellent thing; but there is no true law of progress for that life.

74. Upon the externalization of the individual's mental operations, both as to material and purpose, depends the progress of the race; therefore whatever discourages introspection and self-consciousness cultivates high thinking; to study the world or man, from one's self, is the fundamental folly and any attempt at studying or estimating one's self is always futile. The one man cannot be objective and subjective, one man can at best only be an imperfect reflex of society, and the ego that we glory in is really never more than a tiny caricature of the common manhood and the times.

75. Conscious goals, or efforts towards an end, are not by any means so common in men's lives as the vain egoist would have us believe; for such goal consciousness is in fact abhorrent to life and quickly buries itself in the habit of pursuing and forgets the pursuit.

76. The me of the individualist is a mental disease, a case of mistaken identity, a bad little composite picture of everybody, which the child ego fancies he sat for himself.

77. In the process of restoring the individual to the cause of social progress and identity from which he has been separated by the blunders and crimes of property aristocracies, the cause of altruism has this great auxiliary: the habits and lessons of other-service which, for their own selfish purposes, the world's aristocracies have imposed upon the masses of the common people are imbedded in their daily life. Mere self-seeking has never yet reached the heart of the workers; they have never yet been corrupted by the epicurean's law of the boss. **To serve others has been the poor man's lot always, and this race habit will become the head of the corner in socialist ethics.**

78. The power of an endless life and that life the life of God, is the Social Gospel. It is not the power of the ego will, nor is the beauty of holiness the brilliancy of ego polished up. The power of an endless life is not my power, it is the touches and the footsteps of God through the heart and brain of me; I feel the tread and the warmth of the touch and claim it as my own—it is not my own, it is God. We have yet to admit that there is a race God.

(THE END.)

NEW DAY IS DAWNING FOR CHRISTIAN WORK.

Rev. Dr. A. G. Crapsey says:

"We are upon the threshold of a movement that shall carry mankind to a higher stage of being. No one is satisfied with the present conditions. The rich are ashamed and the poor are angered. The time is at hand for preaching the gospel to the poor. We will build no more cathedrals or churches, if we can help it, until we have delivered the poor from the slum and the sweatshop. We will send no missionaries to the heathen to preach a Christ whose name we glorify but whose teachings we despise. We will not ask the people to come to our churches until our churches are purified from a corrupt commercialism. When our Christian merchants close their stores at a decent hour on Saturday nights then we can expect to have hearty worship on Sunday morning. When these same merchants pay proper wages to the girls and women whom they employ, so that these same girls and women are in no danger of having to sell their souls to keep their bodies alive; when we have honesty in trade and open dealing in corporations, why, then, and not till then, will the people think of coming to the churches. What we need is a moral and spiritual reformation, and we need it at once. Our church-state is in danger. The abomination of desolation is in the holy place."

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The Relation of Christian Ethics to Economics

philosopher Celsus, who appears to have written about the middle of the second century, makes it a matter of reproach that the active members of the sect were woolworkers and cobblers and curriers, the most ignorant and boorish of mankind, who were marvelously eloquent in a knot of women or boys or slaves, but had not a word to say for themselves when confronted with sensible men."

The great Apostle to the Gentiles, and other early authorities relate that in the days of nascent Christianity Christians "wandered in dens and caves of the earth." The catacombs are their monuments.

The history of the Industrial Regeneration is similar; and on the strength of this parallel alone one might, fairly, safely, stake his happiness upon the genuineness and worthiness of its motive and dynamic. It was "hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes." Its fathers have suffered for its sake obloquy and bonds and death. It has in it no predominant element of selfishness (undue regard for self) as related to those who conceived it and who have given, or are now giving, their lives to or for it. It has all the marks of the "foolishness of God that is wiser than men." If one asks, 'Have any of the rulers or the Pharisees believed'? the answer is, heretofore, not many. The spirit of industrial Brotherhood has has been hidden away in bare rooms of lowly, in trades-unions halls and the Socialist clubs; among the shoeworkers; in the cheerless rooms of the corporation-barracks where board the weaver and the spinner; in the huts of the miners and the humble haunts of men and women who work with their hands and brain, the hearts that, though not fully attuned are most nearly in unison with God's heart today, are those that beat, as beat Christian hearts of yore, in the breasts of multitudes of poor and overworked and starved and lowly; under coats of faded brown and dresses of coarse texture. Indeed, most of the vital attributes of a Christian "ecclesia" or church are and have been in the trades unions for two generations. Granted that these unions have often fallen short. Granted that they have sometimes been weak and unreasonable in their attitude toward men outside their organizations. So have even the churches! In both instances the zeal for their cause has sometimes eaten them up. But imperfections conceded, the great masses of men who go to the trade union meetings, and stood by their brethren and their sisters, and those who work for Socialism, are men who have brethren and sisters' children, supporting one another in sickness, in enforced idleness, in demands for decent remuneration, in a systematic and intelligent, honorable and successful endeavor to raise the standard of human life—these men constitute the most genuine expression of Christianity in modern times. The day of Honest Work is at hand. That "sheer, massive, perpendicular integrity" which Edward Everett Hale attributes individually to Ralph Waldo Emerson will find its social embodiment in the Industrial Regeneration.

(THE END.)

BOOKS YOU SHOULD READ

(Order of the Christian Socialist)

Rebels of the New South, by Walter Marion Raymond. Price $1.00. The most beautiful, delightful, pure and wholesome Socialist novel printed. Walter Thomas Mills said of it: "I sat up all night reading the book in the midst of the hottest campaign in which I have recently been engaged. A book that can hold me that way will certainly interest others."

The Recording Angel by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Price $1.00. A story of tremendous grip. (I finished it at 2:30 a. m.—E. E. C.) The plot is worthy of Conan Doyle; the action rapid, intense; the interest unflaging, the spirit and purpose noble, sweet and strong. It will surely make Socialist votes.

The Jungle by Upton Sinclair. Price $1.35. This latest Socialist novel is making a great sensation. The first edition is 30,000 copies, most of them ordered in advance. It is startling and terrible. More fact than fiction. Eugene V. Debs says of it: "In this fearful story the horrors of industrial slavery are as vividly drawn as if by lightning. It marks an epoch in revolutionary literature."

The Principles of Scientific Socialism by Rev. Charles H. Vail. Manila cover, 35c. Able and easy to understand.

The Struggle for Existence by Walter Thomas Mills, Price $2.50. In clubs of five or more, $1.50 each. Generally acknowledged to be the greatest Socialist book in the English language, clear, concise, comprehensive, convincing.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY

Published by THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY, 134 North Vermilion Street, Danville, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE 50 CENTS PER YEAR

ENTERED AT THE POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER

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Arthur Brisbane, said to be the highest salaried editor in the world, disposes of President Eliot's objections to public ownership of public utilities as follows. It will be remembered that President Eliot glorified the strike-breaker as one of the highest types of American patriotism:

"President Eliot need not be criticised unkindly because he rejects the truth,—or rather fails to see that it IS the truth.

The fact is that among old men a certain number are incapable of assimilating new ideas.

"In youth, when the mind is flexible and has not settled into fixed habits of thought or become settled in its own opinions, new suggestions are taken up eagerly.

"Later the mind, working with great force on its own lines, rendering to humanity great service based on experience, IS NO LONGER ELASTIC, no longer open to the NEW truth.

"Fortunately, this is not as common in our day as it used to be. In America especially you find the old men with minds young and vigorous. But you do see sometimes—in the case of Dr. Eliot of Harvard, for instance—that peculiar, ossifying process which affects thought in old age.

"As has been said, this rejection of NEW truths by men that are old is less common now than it used to be. Are you aware that when Harvey discovered and announced the circulation of the blood all doctors over forty years of age refused to accept his discovery?

"By the way, don't make the mistake of looking disrespectfully at those exceptions among the old men who refuse to take in the new ideas. As the INDIVIDUAL needs caution in his life, SO THE HUMAN RACE MUST HAVE CAUTION REPRESENTED IN ITS ORGANIZATION.

"See how wisely Nature distributes our various functions. Only the old man can possibly have experience stored away—so it is his duty to give men the benefit of long observation and study.

"ONLY THE YOUNG MAN CAN LIVE LONG ENOUGH TO REALIZE THE NEW IDEA to make it a reality.

"It would be a waste of time to torment the old by forcing them to accept and worry themselves with things that they can never REALIZE. Therefore it is a merciful arrangement which enables the old conscientiously to reject disturbing new factors, leaving that work for those younger, with plenty of time ahead to deal with the new."

To Any Y. M. C. A. Reader

A friend last year paid a year's subscription for "The Christian Socialist" to be sent to the Y. M. C. A. reading rooms throughout the United States and Canada. The subscription will soon expire, and the friend would like to renew it on behalf of every place where the paper has even one reader. Please, therefore as soon as you have read this notice, mail a postal card to "The Christian Socialist" stating that the paper is read in your place. It is not necessary even for you to sign your name, although we should be glad if you would do so.

Action of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for the defense of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone

The committee would recommend that the 1st of May celebration, wherever practicable, be also made a protest meeting, and that the co-operation of all labor organizations be invited and that parades with transparences be utilized as a means of publicity.

We recommend that the national office prepare a uniform poster for use of such meeting, containing portraits of Comrades Moyer and Haywood, and a brief statement of the facts in the case, leaving space for date and place of meeting.

We would urge upon the Socialist press the necessity of taking up this matter actively and publishing not only full statements of the facts, but also editorially urging action by the members.

Subscription lists should be circulated in addition to collections taken at the meetings and all funds forwarded to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party.

Copies of all resolutions adopted should be sent to the governors of Idaho and Colorado, and to the President of the United States. The National Secretary was instructed to prepare a list of available speakers for publication in the Socialist press for the use of locals for these protest meetings. The committee also submitted the following resolutions:

Whereas, the success of the conspiracy against the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners depends upon the acquiescence or silence of the working class of the United States, and is possible only because the powers of Government are still in the hands of the capitalist class, therefore be it

Resolved, that we consider the most effective means of defending our comrades and of preventing the repetition of such outrages lies in the growth of the organized Socialist movement and the threat and possibility which such a movement carries of the capture of the powers of government by the workers.

WAS IT WORTH WHILE?

John A. McCall, after winning a fortune by unrighteous methods, died of grief and shame when the exposure came, and leaves behind a ruined name and among the people a feeling of mingled pity and contempt.

The Rockefeller brothers, fleeing from outraged law and trying to hide from the scorn and hate of their fellows, are reported in a condition of collapse and incurable disease, a prey to pain and fear, guarded by many unloving hirelings lest some outraged citizen seek revenge, or robbers come to loot or kidnap.

These brothers are financially the richest men on earth — the richest who ever lived; but in those things which make for manhood, honor, peace and joy, they are poor, miserably; pitifully poor—poorer than the mangy tramp that shivering waits for the unwelcome "hand-out" at the laborer's back door.

The most hopeful event in a thousand years is the awakening consciousness of the people that riches mean robbery, that an exploiter is a contemptible outlaw. And when this consciousness becomes strong enough to drive Herr Krupp to suicide, McCall to a heart-broken death and the Rockefellers to fearful, shameful retirement whose end is death, there is great hope for humanity.

Remorse, fear and death cannot be bribed. And I doubt not each of these men has very seriously asked himself the questions: "Is it worth while? After all, has not my life been a failure? Would it not have been infinitely better, by a life of service, to gain the love and respect of men, the sense of personal honor and worth, and the certainty of leaving a beloved and honored name when I die?"

Verily, the best things cannot be bought with riches, but are destroyed by them.

Under socialism such business genius as these men possessed would lead to honor, love, peace and joy—such riches as no money can buy under this wicked and foolish competitive system.

E. E. C.

AN ELOQUENT ADDRESS.

From the Warren, O., Chronicle.

The address of Rev. Edward Ellis Carr at city hall last evening, "The Socialism of Jesus," was intensely interesting to every person who was so fortunate as to be present. He began by drawing a beautiful and vivid word picture of the young manhood of Jesus, with all his environments. He followed him as he climbed Mount Nazareth to prepare for his great ministry, and with rare eloquence painted the physical and mental scene as Jesus saw it, from that standpoint. It was such a picture as could not fail to impress every earnest Bible student, whatever his creed, and make him wiser and better, no matter how extensive his knowledge or deep his reflections. The speaker is a deep thinker, following accurately the line of scripture truth, and surrounding his theme with deductions true to nature and life.

It is impossible to give even a synopsis of one of the deepest, rarest and most eloquent addresses ever heard in Warren—or anywhere else. Had our citizens been aware of the rare treat to be enjoyed for the taking, we are sure that the hall would have been packed.

Subscribe for the Appeal to Reason and the Christian Socialist, both for one year for 50c.

The Church and Social Service

By the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon and the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss.

———

The two letters following, which appeared in the New York Independent of recent date, will be of immense interest to our readers and will explain themselves. Rev. Sheldon is too well known as an author, preacher and lecturer on applied Christianity to need an introduction. Rev. W. D. P. Bliss is a minister of the Protestant Episcopal church, one of the pioneer Christian Socialists in America — having edited and published "The Dawn" nearly twenty years ago, the first of the Christian Socialist journals,—and is now being recognized as one of the ablest writers on practical religion.

Mr. W. D. P. Bliss, Amityville, Long Island, N. Y.

My Dear Mr. Bliss: I have read with much interest your articles in the Independent on "The Church in Social Service." It seems from your conclusion that in large part the church is a failure on that side of constructive work. If the church were wiped off the map of New York what other institution would take its place, or is there any other institution which is doing anything even to compare with the good things the church is doing? My question simply covers the interrogation concerning an institution of some kind. Can righteousness or social service for the people be carried on without some organized, concrete body to represent it, and you do not say in your articles whether you believe such a concrete organization will grow out of what is now the church or grow up entirely outside of it?

I ask these questions because, so far as I have gone in my own experience, I have not yet found anything outside of the church which contains the spiritual and Christian leaven necessary to organize men and women together for social service. In other words, I have found more selfishness and more hypocrisy and more narrowness in organizations outside the church than within it. I do not need to say, of course, that I believe myself that the great remedy for America is a profound and real revival of Christianity in the hearts of the people, and the fact that we need it so much is. to my mind, the best proof that we are going to have it.

My only excuse for writing you at all is the interest which your articles in the Independent provoked, and also because I am an optimist and believe in the church as an organization, ultimately, as moved by the divine impulses, which is to shape the future social relations of men. CHARLES M. SHELDON.

The Rev. Charles M. Sheldon Central Church, Topeka, Kas.

My Dear Mr. Sheldon: With your kind consent I answer your letter of February 15 through the columns of the Independent, because you give able expression to what several clergymen have written me and because your letter raises questions of general interest and of deep and far-reaching import. As you say, I do imply, because I so believe that the church is, in large part today, a failure on the social side of constructive work, and I do know, or think I know, institutions which not only can be compared with the church in good things done in social work, but are far ahead of the church in that line of her activities. I have only room here to consider one such class of institutions—the organized labor unions of America.

Of course I do not for a moment mean that I would dream of substituting the labor union for the church. The social side of life is not all of life; and I do not need to say that there are life functions of the most vital importance, in religious education, moral and spiritual culture, together with divine worship, which the labor unions do not fulfill, which they are not fitted nor framed to fulfill, and which, I am happy to say, I believe the church does fulfill today, to say the least, better than any other institution. I agree with you that if the church were wiped off the map of New York today, I do not know what other institution could take its place.

But all that does not prevent the labor union from being today, on lines of social effort, far more useful than the church—dropping for the moment the all-important question of fitting and preparing individuals for their social efforts. That is another question. Of that anon.

But on lines of social effort compare for a moment the labor union and the church. The most important social need of man is, I think, useful, ennobling, honorable, steady, well paid daily work. Would you begin to compare what the churches are doing to secure such work to the laboring masses of our country with what the labor unions are doing?. The church does sometimes, through employment bureaus or other agencies, indeed find work, for some of the more ignorant and needy, whom the labor unions do not help. I have no reason nor inclination to discredit or minimize any good things the church does. These are not few. The Salvation Army, to credit that organization to the church, finds work for some 50,000 unemployed men per year. I would that other church organizations did as well. But the American Federation of Labor, for upward of 2,000,000 workingmen, is their one economic hope and defense and support. With scarcely an exception you will find that wherever a trade is organized strongly and well wages are high, conditions of employment favorable, and that wherever a trade is not organized wages and conditions are low. You will find no such difference between the wages of church workingmen and non-church workingmen. If anything today our best workingmen (economically speaking) are out of the church and our poorer workingmen within it. For economic help, probably not one workingman out of one thousand would look to the church rather than to his union. It is the church which cannot be compared with the union in this important respect.

Next in importance to work, in social need comes perhaps a high wage, because this means the possibility of a good home, healthy food, education for children, provision for old age—all that socially raises life above the brute. In this would you again for a moment compare the church with the labor union? If possible, here the advantage is still more with the labor union. What has the church done in her social activities to raise wages? The labor union is the one institution today that is elevating wages. It is the laborer's one bulwark in many trades against a fall of wages to a European and, in some occupations, to a Chinese level.

Take it in minor matters—in sick benefits, out of work benefits, death benefits. How many churches have such organized benefits? Multitudinous lodges have, almost every labor union has, but the church very rarely has. Many of the larger unions spend hundreds of thousands of dollars each year for the sick, the out of work, the widow and the orphan.

Turn to another most important matter—industrial legislation. Who works for legislation forbidding child labor, shortening the hours of woman's work at night, demanding protection for life and limb, enforcing hygiene and propriety in factories and stores? Here and there, indeed, a noble Christian clergyman, layman or laywoman may be at work for this but the church as a church almost never. It is organized labor to whom American labor, organized or unorganized, mainly owes whatever it has of social privilege and advancement and protection.

But you say the churches lead in charity. I am not sure of this. I do not think that usually our ecclesiastical charities are our best charities. But we do freely admit that the church does more than the labor union in respect of charity. The labor union is not a charitable organization. It scorns "charity." Laboring men know, what the churches do not seem to know, that what the working masses need and want and demand today is not charity, but, as they are continually insisting, justice, fair play, opportunity, organization. Says Canon Barnett, who for over thirty years has lived and labored among the most pitiable masses probably of any city in the world:

"The most earnest members of a charity organization society cannot hope that organized almsgiving will be powerful so to alter conditions as to make the life of the poor a life worth living. Societies which absorb much wealth and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility are failing; it remains only to adopt the principle of the education act, of the poor law and of other Socialist legislation and call on society to do what societies fail to do."

Said President Tucker in our own land:

"The philanthropy which is content to relieve the sufferer from wrong social conditions postpones the philanthropy which is determined at any cost to right those conditions."

If you urge that in the former questionable philanthropy the church is in the lead, I doubt if the labor unions will deny the church that unenviable distinction.

But all this, I repeat, does not mean that I would replace the church by the labor unions. Let us turn for a moment to what we call the personal virtues. Here I gladly giv e the palm, at least so far as inculcating virtue goes, to the church. But even here I must in honesty declare that on some points I have not found the church in advance of the labor union. Take the wealthy young men growing up in our churches and colleges—I have not found in them as a class more personal purity than I have found in the sons of the working classes. It is not from the laboring class that our divorce problem threatens. Take it in honesty, I more than doubt if the business honesty of our average church business man is much in advance of the honesty of average trade unionists. When it comes to personal sacrifices, I think I know that the average trade unionist sacrifices almost infinitely more for what he believes to be the hope of the world than the average church member does for what he believes to be the world's hope.

I do not say this of all workingmen. Yet says Dr. Rainsford, whom we are missing today in New York:

"I believe the labor leaders in the United States, taking them all in all, are just as good as the leaders in law, or finance, or society, or politics. * * * I know a man who for years in this country has occupied one of the first positions as a labor leader. No word is too bad to be said about him by most of the press and some of the colleges, and I know, as a matter of fact, that the man, with a large family of children, never drew but one-half his salary during the whole time he held office and put the other half back into the treasury of his organization. I know a man who, if my judgment amounts to anything, is one of the ablest men in the United States—a man who has great powers of tongue and great powers of organization—and although, alas! he is outside the Christian church, I venture to say a large, whole-souled Christian, too. That man is at the head of an enormous federation in this country, and has never taken but two dollars and fifty cents a day, which is due to him from his trade, and he has never taken even his two dollars and fifty cents except when he was engaged in the active business of his federation. * *

(Continued on page 8)

ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

A special cable dispatch to the New York World announces that August Bebel will visit America in June of this year: The dispatch states that:

"August Bebel, leader of the Social Democracy, intends to visit the United States, the World correspondent learns. The journey will be undertaken late in June, after the adjournment of the reichstag, of which body Bebel is a prominent combative member. He recently inherited $100,000, and can travel where he pleases without taxing the funds of his party.

"Bebel has wished long and ardently to visit the United States, especially New York, Chicago and the industrial centers of Pennsylvania. He desires, too, to gain information on the agricultural problems in America and to study the working of the high American tariff and its effect on trade with Germany.

"Herr Bebel considers that capital has its most pernicious growths in America and he wants to learn why Socialism has only an insignificant following there."

According to the New York Worker there are many returns from small cities and villages in Maine, New York and Minnesota that augur well for the result of the municipal elections in larger places soon to be held.

The Chicago Socialists have been having the time of their lives. Nearly twenty great meetings, all crowded to the doors and causing overflow meetings. Each meeting has broken all precedents. Standing room was at a premium. Republicans and Democrats cry apathy. The Socialists prove that there is none of this disease in their ranks. Joseph Medill Patterson spoke at many of them and was given rousing receptions.

Compare President Roosevelt's haughty tone in lecturing and dismissing the Federation officials with the respectful way in which he spoke of the Socialist movement a year or so ago, recognizing it as the only really formidable opponent of capitalist Republicanism. Non-partisan action by the workers inspires contempt in the masters; partisan voting for the complete emancipation of labor inspires them with fear. That is the difference.—The Worker.

Prof. Albion Small of the Chicago university, in a book recently published, announces it as a demonstrable fact that the thing that moves the present society is class interest. This claim is shaking some of the fellows who have been denouncing the Socialists for holding the same view, charging them with wanting to "stir up a class strife," and all that kind of stuff.

One of the features of the Social Democratic campaigns is that no candidate is allowed to go into a saloon and treat or buy drinks. According to the leaders the trend of the movement is to teach temperance, independence and better living. This forbidding the treating of voters is considered the initial step in this policy. Apparently one of the first efforts is that the Social Democratic party shall furnish the amusements, the recreation, the society and the opportunity for self-improvement to all the members of the party and their families.—Milwaukee Free Press.

Even a "Bloody Sunday" meeting was held in Alaska. Social-Democracy is uninterruptedly circumnavigating the globe!—The Crisis.

John C. Kennedy, one of the debating team of Cornell university, pitted against the University of Pennsylvania made soap box speeches in Ithaca, N. Y., last fall. They say that he is a forceful speaker and will develop into one of the leading orators of the country.

"The insurance world today is the greatest financial proposition in the United States. And it commands a higher law. In defending its rights and its property you cannot stop to kick every cur that comes along and barks; and if you can sweep them out in other, perhaps mysterious but honest, ways, you are defending and asserting the higher law which great enterprises have a right to command." This is the way Andrew Hamilton voices the view of the financial and industrial magnates.

Dr. Washington Gladden's book, "Christianity Civilized," is written in a kindly manner, evidently meant to be fair. But all his ideas of Socialism are queered to the Socialist because he insists upon applying to a state of socialism all the temptations, corruption and debasing influence of the present order. Nothing but experience will satisfy him.

The labor politicians of the American Federation of Labor have conceived quite a novel plan to capture the machines of the Republican and Democratic parties. The plan as outlined, briefly put, is for all union men to quit work on primary election day and go to the polls and elect union labor delegates to both of the conventions, thus shutting out the old party politicians. Great idea! Conducive to purity in politics, isn't it? Delegates sell out. Oh, no! Not for the world. For cash.

Socialists the country over are calling mass meetings to discuss the outrageous persecutions that are taking place in Colorado and Idaho under the guise of law. There is no mincing of words, and the blame is being placed where it belongs—not only on the Pinkertons and petty politicians, but also on the frenzied financiers of the Rockefeller and Rogers types, who are furnishing the boodle.

The conviction that Comrade Shoaf, special reporter of The Appeal to Reason, has arrived at is given in a private letter to the editor. He says: "These men are not going to get even a show for their lives. Attorney Richardson nearly as much as admitted that to me today. He is worried over the actions of the prosecution. Gooding, Smith and the attorneys act as though they didn't care what the people thought. Of course, Richardson will appeal to the appellate court in case of conviction, but what good will it do The people are all right, but the people are not the government. It looks to me like we might as well get ready to celebrate the martyrdom of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone."

It is announced from Boise that the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone will take place the latter part of April. The Appeal is making all necessary arrangements to issue a daily edition from Girard with a full and complete telegraphic report of the trial if it is deemed necessary to do so in order to persuade the old party press to print ungarbled accounts. The average newspaper telegraph editor dislikes to be made out a liar. And this is what will occur when the Appeal is circulated in this city with the true version of the case.

A Washington dispatch to the New York Sun says the Socialistic tendency throughout the country is a source of concern to the Republican veterans in congress. They "view with alarm" the apostasy of young Joseph Medill Patterson of Chicago, who comes of good old Republican stock. In his conversion to Socialism they confess to see a sign of the times that is not propitious. However, the case of young Patterson is only an incident, they say, for they contend that Socialists are gaining ground rapidly in the larger cities, and it will be no surprise to them if several avowed Socialists are elected to the next congress. In Milwaukee, for instance, it is said that the Socialists stand an excellent chance of electing the successors of Representatives Otjen and Stafford, who will be renominated by the Republicans.

The proposal for a national convention this spring has been voted down by a referendum of the Socialists of the country. The plan was defeated by a majority of 1,477 votes.

The Appeal to Reason special Idaho-Colorado outrage edition had orders for 2,240,000 copies, all received in fourteen days.

D. Feely of San Jose, Cal., who died recently, left his estate mainly to the Socialist party. Two comrades are acting as executors under the direction of the state committee. It is expected the party will be the beneficiary to the extent of several thousand dollars.

The "Tobacco Worker" says that conditions in that trade in some places are very bad. "Speaking about the textile industry in the south, and the cotton mills where children are employed from the age of 10 up, working from twelve to fourteen hours a day; wages they receive, three cents per hour; the same conditions prevail in the tobacco factories in the state of Tennessee—in Clarksville, Carthage, Franklin, Nashville and Pulaski."

The heartlessness and immorality of capitalism, the wide world over, is most graphically seen in the terrible mine disaster that recently occurred in France. Over a thousand lives of the working class were snuffed out, and now the widows and orphans must be evicted and made to suffer while new slaves are brought in. It is time the workers abolished capitalist law and replaced it with a humanitarian system of society in which social justice would prevail.—Chicago Socialist.

The Westphalian German rescuing brigade arrived at Courrieres to aid in recovering the bodies of the miners killed by the gas explosion. The men say they came spontaneously to offer their help to fellow miners. Socialists seize upon the incident to illustrate how little the rank and file of the laboring population care for the political situation between two countries, and how they rightly regard human suffering as the thing which appeals most strongly to the world.

In Russia the reactionary movement is in full swing. There are arrests, trials, executions and expatriations to Siberia by the thousands. The League of Writers claims to hold proof massacres have been planned to take p lace at Alexandrovsk, Minsk, Brest-Litovsk, Rostov-onDon and Krementchug. It also points out that the antiJewish press is spreading insidious rumors designed to incite the ignorant, instancing specifically the case of the Moscow Day, which recently printed an article under the caption, "The Jewish Easter Is Coming—Take Care of Your Children," containing the usual horrible intimation of "blood atonement." It is recalled that the Kishineff, Gomel and Odessa anti-Jewish outrages were committed at the instigation of Minister of the Interior Plehve, Prefect of Police Neihardt and Count Podgorichanie, chief of the gendarmerie of Gomel.

The Vorwaerts (Berlin) prints statistics in regard to the casualties which have occurred in Russia during the internal disorders in the empire. The figures show that in 1905 14,130 persons were shot or hanged, 19,524 wounded and 1.397 political prisoners executed.

The railway nationalization bill passed the house of representatives of Japan without amendment by a vote of 243 to 109. It is expected that the bill to purchase the Seoul-Fusan railway also will pass. The cost of the purchase of home railways is estimated at $250,000,000. The minister of finance is confident that purchase can be effected within five years without disturbing the market.

At the funerals of the victims of the Courrieres mine disaster in France the bishop of Arras pronounced the funeral oration and M. Dubief, former minister of the interior, also spoke. After the officials had withdrawn Socialist orators delivered a number of speeches, in which they attacked the mining companies, capital and society generally. The crowd cheered the speeches and indulged in frequent cries of "Down with capitalists" and "Down with the assassins!"

Since his recent election as a member of parliament on a labor ticket Alphonse Verville, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is in great demand as a speaker, and there is a sentiment spreading all over Canada in favor of starting a labor party to fight both the old parties.—Cleveland Citizen.

Colonel Marchand of Fashoda fame has renounced his military ideas and ambitions at the age of 42, turned Socialist and announced he will stand as a candidate for the chamber of deputies at the general election in April. Marchand's action has created such a furore that it has become the talk of all France, according to a cable from Paris. Marchand will stand for election in one of the divisions in Paris, and there's every probability his candidacy will be successful. Marchand's conversion to Socialism, following the union of the Socialist parties, will undoubtedly start a great landslide there. The time is ripe for a great advance in France.

"Dagonet," writing in the London Referee, says we shall not fight many more general elections in England on the old lines or with the old party labels. The two great parties fighting for the upper hand in swaying the distinies of the British people will be the Socialists and individualists or capitalists. He says: "The Socialists have practically got control of the capital, and the kingdom will also fall to them unless the danger is speedily recognized and grappled with."

According to a review of the Socialist movement in Switzerland, which appears in the Berlin Vorwaerts, the past year has been one of steady, rapid growth. Owing to the unfair method of districting, however, the Socialists with 100,000 votes only succeeded in electing thirty-eight representatives, while the Radicals, with twice as many votes, have 103 representatives. One of the most active features of the campaign of the recent year has been in opposition to the use of the militia against strikers, something that it might be well for those who are advocating the Swiss system in this country to observe. There have been an extraordinarily large number of strikes during the past year and the industrial movement is growing rapidly.

The demands made for universal suffrage by the Socialists in Austria are being listened to by the politicians. Bills are now being discussed in parliament to grant voting power to all males 24 years of age.

One hundred and four Socialist meetings were held March 18 in Berlin and its suburbs for the purpose of commemorating the revolutionary outbreaks of 1848-49 and protesting against the three-class suffrage system of Prussia. They passed off with complete quiet. The police authorities took no special precautions, as the Socialists by their demonstrations of February 21 had proved that it was their disposition to keep order. The meetings were addressed by Herr Bebel, leader of the Socialists in the reichstag, Herr Bernstein and other members of the reichstag and several women Socialists.

Says Bishop Mercer, of Australia: "Socialism has made us see the falsity and one-sidedness of individualism. Socialism tried not to pour medicines down the throat of suffering humanity but to search out the root of the disease to strengthen the bonds that hold man to man, and to stand united, the strong to the weak."—Cleveland Citizen.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

EDITED BY REV. LUCIEN V. RULE, GOSHEN, KY.

SHALL WE FORM A SOCIALIST CHURCH?

"Be Ye Not Unequally Yoked Together With Unbelievers, for What Fellowship Hath Righteousness With Unrighteousness?"

From comment and correspondence I find there is an honest difference of opinion as to the advisability of a separate church organization in the interest of socialism, or "applied Christianity."

As one of the committee that is soon to meet to formulate some basis for the calling of a national conference to organize a Christian Socialist fellowship or church organization, I may be pardoned for giving vent to my convictions as to what ought to be done at the national conference. Before the conference is called is the time to speak if discord is to be avoided and unanimity of thought and action is to prevail. It was for this reason that I suggested in my last article a symposium to secure the views of all Christian Socialists upon this very important question.

For one I am in favor of a separate movement freed from all entangling alliances, and the following are some of my reasons for holding these views:

REASONS FOR SEPARATE ACTION.

First—The principles we are advocating are revolutionary, not evolutionary—regenerative, not reformative.

There is no possibility of welding truth and falsehood, or of amalgamating light and darkness.

Second—We are dealing with systems, endeavoring to substitute one for another. No amount of patching of the old system will meet the case. As the prophet of old was sent to curse the idolatrous altars, so are the Christian Socialists sent to curse the altars of Mammon, whether they be found in Wall street ethics or church creeds.

The church is the foster mother of plutocratic oppression, the outspoken defender of the competitive system, which we seek to overthrow root and branch.

As all churches are of human origin and become useless as they fail to represent the truth, why should we cling with such superstitious tenacity to these religious bulwarks of capitalism?—these "divine right" cities of refuge for the brigands of finance?

We might as consistently join a band of honest highway robbers, assenting to their skull and crossbone creed with the hope of converting them, as to think of joining any one of the churches today having for our object their conversion to Socialism.

The proposed organization will either be an auxiliary to the Socialist party, having for its main object the conversion of the church to Christianity, or it will be auxiliary to the church whose practical work will be to convert Christian Socialists to Churchianity.

If it is the latter kind of an organization it will be Janus-faced, having smiles for two opposing forces. It will have two masters—God and Mammon, and Jesus declared that we cannot serve God and Mammon.

Third—We are dealing with organic sin and collective diabolism. To remain in any organization as a voluntary integral part of it makes us a party to and defender of all the wrong-doing of that organization. We cannot escape from an industrial bondage as individuals. It must be done collectively, but we can wash our hands from all complicity in our religious and political affiliations.

We are justly unsparing in our condemnation of organized greed when found in the social, financial, industrial or political world, and shall we CONDONE in a religious body that which we CONDEMN in a political body? Let us be consistent if we are to lay claim to the respect of the millions of wage slaves who have been driven from the church by class distinctions and legalized-church-approved methods of robbery and exploitation.

There is but one reason for remaining in the church. It can be summed up in one word—EXPEDIENCY. Every line of argument defending the stay-in-the-church theory will be found in the last analysis to rest upon that one word, and, strange to say, this is the same word the church uses to defend itself for complicity with capitalistic tyranny.

Behind this we know there is an economic cause. Are Christian Socialists willing to concede that they are governed by economic reasons giving shade to their religious convictions?

Brethren, let us be free men!

Fourth—We must have the confidence of the Socialist world. Our allegiance must be given to our comrades on the battlefield struggling against such great odds.

It is a fact of common knowledge that Christianity was ambushed in the first century and captured by the capitalistic forces of the world, and its high standards have been dragged down and chained to Moloch's Juggernaut wheel of avarice.

The Socialists know that the church (not Christian) forces have organized in Europe to fight Socialism, even using the name Socialism to help deceive the people.

With the Roman church and its pontiff openly opposing Socialism, the Presbyterian church organizing a society to reach the laboring classes, the M. E. church declaring for the "open shop," the Christian Endeavor Society using its world-wide influence against Socialism, and with all the churches in bondage to the capitalistic theories and practice, we would make a great mistake, as I view it, to stop short of a church organization committed unreservedly to the cause.

Fifth—Those of us who believe in regeneration and a higher spiritual life demand a spiritual home and true Christian fellowship. This is not furnished by the churches and cannot be furnished while the present competitive system is indorsed and sustained by the church.

The Socialist party does not and cannot provide spiritual food and fellowship. We cannot call upon sinners to repent and forsake their sins while we have no home for them to go to and represent a guilty church. As Socialism offers a complete method by which Christianity can be applied, the Golden Rule put into practice and the prayer, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven," answered, we may look for the greatest revival of religion the world has ever seen.

Our text will be "Repent ye, for the kingdom of God is at hand," but like John the Baptist we will have to take to the wilderness, for the synagogues will not open to us, nor will they hear us—at least until economic conditions change.

If Christianity is to be rescued and made to serve the world, it must be divorced at once and forever from capitalistic control, and this cannot be done by crying "peace, peace, when there is no peace."

There is a very large number of self-sacrificing, uncompromising and able advocates of Socialism who have been driven into infidelity and even atheism by the hypocrisy of the churches. There is still a larger class of our wage-earning comrades who have lost their confidence in all churches, and while some make a distinction between CHURCHIANITY and CHRISTIANITY, the majority do not.

Sixth—Conscious as we are that multitudes are starving in Japan, in Russia, in Europe—yea, in our own land, and that that institution which is supposed to represent God on earth—the so-called church of God, in their creeds, their polity, their songs, their sermons, their prayers and in their organic utterances are justifying and defending this whole system of oppression and wrong, is it not next to a crime for any Socialist to lend his influence and give of his time and means to perpetuate this mother of harlots?

Finally, as I hope to be able to meet with the committee which meets in May or June, I desire all Christian Socialists to write to me at once, giving me their views upon this question.

I hope the other brethren of the committee will express themselves as freely as I have, and that they will call for expressions of opinion in their respective localities.

With love for the truth, "charity for all and malice toward none," I am yours for applied Christianity and the co-operative commonwealth.

J. W. WELLS,
602 Goodnough Building, Portland, Ore.

THE SUN.

By Ralph Korngold.

The sun! the sun! mother,
Give me the sun!

—Ibsen (Ghosts).

It is early in the morning. I open my window and look out. The sun has not yet risen and everything appears as if seen through a pale blue glass.

Hatred and care, greed and sorrow sleep. Now men lie peacefully; in an hour they will be at each other's throats.

O night! O ever blessed night! O time when man gives up some respite to man.

Law courts are closed. The debtor and the creditor have forgotten their fierce strife for money; old enemies their real or supposed wrongs. The schemer his scheming.

Hatred and care, greed and sorrow sleep—wish that they were dead! Wish that men would awake forgetful of their relations of yesterday and make the day a true ruling of Light!

The birds begin to twitter in the trees below my window, and far away above the elms of the church yard the rooks are flying madly back and forth. They are seeing the sun; they shout the glad news to the world.

The stars have withdrawn into the depths of the sky. Softly the moon is being blotted out.

From rents in the clouds the red light is oozing like blood from an open wound.

Yet a moment and the sun shows his glowing face above the horizon.

Art thou there, O friend of all Life?

Regularly at they post, never tiring of thy work, thou faithful one!

How long hast thou performed thy task? How long wilt thou continue?

And I already tired of this short life of mine!

Give me some of thy perseverance, O sun, and some of thy power to bless!